

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ISO-00

AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01

PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00

RSC-01 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 DODE-00 /077 W

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FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6396

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L DUBLIN 162

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: DISCUSSIONS AT EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING

SUMMARY: ON JAN. 25 IRISH GAVE POLITICAL OFFICER BRIEFING ON CSCE
PORTION OF JAN. 23/24 POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING. BRIEFING ON
OTHER SUBJECTS PROMISED FOR MONDAY, JANUARY 27. IRISH
UNDERSTAND THAT ITALIAN DELEGATION WILL GIVE BRIEFING ON SAME
POINTS IN NATO DURING NEXT WEEK. OUR IRISH CONTACTS (O HUIGINN
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AND SMITH OF CSCE DEL) SAID THAT, WHILE THERE WAS LONG DIS-

CUSSION ON MOST CSCE TOPICS, THERE WERE NO MAJOR DECISIONS. THERE WAS, HOWEVER, A FEELING THAT CSCE IS GETTING NEAR FINAL STAGES. FOLLOWING ARE DETAILS OF DISCUSSIONS. END SUMMARY

1. BASKET I GENERAL -- EC NINE CONTINUE TO REJECT THE IDEA OF PUTTING ENTIRE FIRST BASKET IN ONE SINGLE DOCUMENT.

2. PRINCIPLES --

(A) PEACEFUL CHANGE: PARTICIPANTS AGREED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION ON BASIS OF THE AMERICAN FORMULA OF JULY 26. THEY WISH TO FIND A PLACE IN TEXT FOR PEACEFUL-CHANGE LANGUAGE BEFORE END OF THE FIRST READING OF THE DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES. IF THE SOVIETS INSIST ON GOING BACK TO THEIR HARD APRIL 5 FORMULA WITH NO CHANGES, THE NINE WILL REPLY BY REAFFIRMING THEIR ORIGINAL POSITION THAT THIS FORMULA CAN ONLY BE ACCEPTED IN THE PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. IT WAS ALSO AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT THE GENEVA DELEGATIONS MIGHT STUDY POSSIBILITY OF PUTTING APRIL 5 FORMULA INTO EITHER THE SECOND PRINCIPLE (NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE) OR THE FOURTH PRINCIPLE (TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY). EC DELS WILL MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH US DEL IN GENEVA ON THIS SUBJECT.

(B) EQUAL VALUE OF PRINCIPLES: THE NINE REAFFIRMED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH TEXT AND DECIDED THAT THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS IN IT ARE CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL: (1) EQUAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, (2) APPLICATION OF EACH PRINCIPLE WITHOUT RESERVATION; (3) EACH PRINCIPLE MUST BE CONSTRUED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OTHERS.

(C) QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS SAVING CLAUSE: THE NINE LOOKED BRIEFLY AT THE NEW FRENCH LANGUAGE. GENERAL FEELING WAS THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO PUT A RESERVATION OF THIS KIND IN THE FINAL CLAUSES RATHER THAN IN THE TENTH PRINCIPLE.

(D) MENTION OF UN CHARTER: THE GENERAL FEELING WAS THAT THE GENEVA DELEGATIONS SHOULD TRY TO GET ALL REFERENCES TO THE CHARTER IN ONE SINGLE TEXT.

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KE) EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION: NEW LANGUAGE HAD ALREADY BEEN VIRTUALLY AGREED DECEMBER 19. THE NINE BELIEVE THAT THE LANGUAGE SHOULD BE REGISTERED WITHOUT CHANGE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

(F) PREAMBLE FOR PRINCIPLES: FURTHER STUDY IS NEEDED.

3. TWO OTHER MINOR PROBLEMS WERE DISCUSSED UNDER BASKET I.

ON THE ROUMANIAN PROPOSAL (ON NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE), THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IS HOW TO INSERT IT IN THE BODY OF THE TEXT. ON THE SWISS PROPOSAL (ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES), THE NINE DISCUSSED HOW IT MIGHT EFFECT THE FOLLOW-ON, BUT NO DECISIONS EMERGED.

4. CBM'S -- THE NINE DISCUSSED THE GENEVA DEADLOCK AND THE DANGER IT RAISES THAT MANY DECISIONS WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN IN A RUSH AT THE LAST MINUTE. THIS COULD HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FINAL BARGAINING. THERE IS A FEELING THAT AN OUTLINE OF THE TEXT SHOULD BE READY BEFORE END OF THE FIRST READING. CBM'S SHOULD APPLY TO ALL OF EUROPE, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF SPECIAL SOVIET AND TURKISH PROBLEMS (FORCES IN NON-EUROPEAN AREAS). NOTIFICATIONS OF TROOP MOVEMENTS SHOULD GO TO ALL PARTICIPATING STATES RATHER THAN SIMPLY NEIGHBORING STATES.

5. BASKET II -- THERE ARE THREE REMAINING PROBLEMS: MFN, RECIPROCITY, AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. NO MAJOR DECISIONS WERE REACHED ON ANY OF THESE PROBLEMS, AND DISCUSSION WAS ALMOST ENTIRELY CONFINED TO MFN. IT WAS AGREED THAT NO LANGUAGE DECIDED UPON BY CSCE COULD AUTOMATICALLY REQUIRE THE GRANTING OF MFN STATUS. THE NINE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE GRANTING OF MFN TREATMENT SHOULD NOT GO BEYOND THE FIELD OF TARIFFS INTO THE AREA OF QUANTITATIVE RESTRICTIONS. THE NINE HOPE TO INVESTIGATE THE POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY WITHOUT GIVING WAY THEMSELVES ON SUBSTANCE.

6. BASKET III -- NO MAJOR DISCUSSIONS.

7. FOLLOW-UP -- IT WAS AGREED THAT FOLLOW-UP WILL NOW BECOME A CENTRAL ISSUE. THERE WAS DETAILED EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON NEW BRITISH PAPER, WHICH APPEARS TO REPRESENT CALLAGHAN'S OWN CONFIDENTIAL

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VIEWS AND MUST THEREFORE BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. THERE WAS CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR DANISH PAPER, BUT A REPORT MAY BE PREPARED WHICH WILL ALLOW FOREIGN MINISTERS TO TAKE NEW DECISIONS.

8. MEDITERRANEAN -- NO ONE WAS CERTAIN AS TO MALTESE INTENTIONS, AND THE NINE WILL TRY TO PERSUADE MALTA NOT TO TAKE EXTREME POSITIONS. THE MALTESE PROPOSAL SHOULD NOT BE REFERRED TO ANY WORKING GROUP. IN EFFECT, THERE IS NO INTEREST IN SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS, BUT THERE IS RECOGNITION THAT MALTA MUST BE TREATED TACTFULLY TO AVOID DISRUPTION OF DISCUSSIONS.

9. CYPRUS -- THE NINE DISCUSSED THE THREAT BY GREEKS AND CYPRIOTS TO WITHHOLD AGREEMENT ON CSCE PENDING A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. IT WAS DECIDED THAT THIS PROBLEM CANNOT BE ASSESSED IN THE CSCE FRAMEWORK.

10. FORM OF FINAL STAGE TWO DOCUMENTS -- THE PARTICIPANTS NOTED THE GERMAN PAPER BUT TOOK NO DECISIONS. SUBJECT REQUIRES FURTHER STUDY IN GENEVA.

11. COMMENT: IRISH GAVE US PROMPT CSCE BRIEFING DESPITE FACT THAT TIMING WAS NOT CONVENIENT FOR THEM. THEY DESCRIBED ONLY CONSENSUS OF NINE. COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY INTERPLAY MIGHT HAVE ADDED CLARITY IN A FEW CASES (AS SEE PARA SEVEN). WE HAVE SOMETIMES USED THE TERM "AGREED" FOR CONVENIENCE, BUT WE NEVER HAD IMPRESSION THAT IRISH WERE CONFRONTING US WITH FAIT ACCOMPLI. ON CONTRARY, OUR BRIEFERS STRESSED IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH US DEL GENEVA.
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